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# HEBREW-BABYLONIAN AFFINITIES.

BY

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Containing a further development of the Theory sketched in  
the same Author's Article on the "Earliest Religion  
of the Ancient Hebrews," in the "Contemporary  
Review" for October, 1898.

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## HEBREW-BABYLONIAN AFFINITIES.

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IN my article on the "Earliest Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," in the *Contemporary Review* for October last, I endeavoured to show that the Yahweh cult of the primitive Hebrews is "not to be looked upon as an isolated form of worship, but rather as a religious system which was in its earliest beginnings identical with the very far-spread adoration of the moon-god, who was in antiquity best known under the name of 'Sin.'" It might at first sight be supposed that such a point of view must place us in a position of antagonism towards the hitherto cherished theological conceptions on which not only Christian, but also Jewish, theism is based. This is, however, very far from being the case. It ought first of all to be remembered that the transcendental concept of religious truth has been a matter of very gradual development. Deity was in early times uniformly associated with a definite place or region whence the divine operations of power and government proceeded. The religion of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians was mainly, if not entirely, astral; that is to say, that the heavenly bodies, such as the moon, the sun, Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn, were

regarded as the respective seats of the various deities who swayed the destinies of the great and mysterious world on which the eye of man could only gaze with wonder and awe. That the early Hebrews were not emancipated from the need of such special location of the Deity is amply proved by the fact that the God of Israel took up His abode in the "tent of meeting" between the Cherubim that were placed over the ark of the covenant. It was, in fact, impossible for any race of men in the earlier ages of the world to imagine a God who had no special residence anywhere. And this being so, it is difficult to see why the original location of the Deity in the weird and mystic luminary of night should offend thinking religious men of the present day. Association with the heavenly body just named, on the contrary, betokens the special greatness, and even uniqueness, of the Deity thus domiciled. For the moon was in primitive times held to be much greater and more ancient than even the sun. The perception that the former but reflected the light of the latter dawned only gradually on the mind of man. The first idea was that the sun "which was seen to issue every morning from the darkness of night" could only be regarded as the offspring of the god of night; and "it was, in fact, not before the city of Babylon had risen to supreme pre-eminence in ancient Chaldea that Merodach (the god of the rising sun) became the chief deity on the banks of the Euphrates."

The main object of the present paper is (1) to adduce additional illustrations of my theory from the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, and (2) to show

that another well-known deity of the ancient Eastern world, namely, the god Ashshur, was also originally identical with the widely-honoured personality of the moon-god. But before proceeding with the fresh part of my subject, I must recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the main line of argument as formulated in my article of October last.

Starting from the perfectly clear indications that "there was in primitive times a cycle of ideas in which Sin, the moon-god, was identified with the mysterious and most ancient deity, who was worshipped under the name of Ea, I further showed that Ea (Greek Ἄδης) himself is in all probability the same as Aa or Ya, a name which Assyriologists rightly treat as the prototype of the name Yahweh,\* and as altogether identical with Yah (יָה), the Biblical equivalent of Yahweh. With this identification before us, it becomes intelligible why the God of Israel should have selected Sinai, the mountain sacred to the moon-god Sin, as the scene of His manifestation to His people. I, indeed, demonstrated clearly enough that the "Law given from Sinai embodies a far more spiritual idea of the Deity than was contained in the theological conception of Sin," but I at the same time insisted on the fact that my theory alone "offers an adequate explanation of the two streams of religious thought which were blended in the traditions of Sinai." I also said that the migration of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees could by no means justify the assumption of antagonism on his part towards the supreme position which the moon-god occupied in his

\* The form יָהוּ, however, is probably a shortening of יְהוָה.

native city; for Haran, the city in which he is recorded to have made his first great halt and lengthened stay, was no less devoted to this greatest cult of antiquity than Uru itself. Independent corroborative evidence was shown to be afforded by the fact that both in the Chaldæan account of the flood and in the cuneiform history of the first man (Adapa=Adam), Ea (=Aa=Sin) occupies exactly the same place as is held by Yahweh in the Pentateuchal document known as J. At the end of my argument I drew attention to the Jewish Service of the "Sanctification of the new moon," which reminds one very strongly of the ancient Chaldæan moon-cult from which the wonderfully pure monotheistic religion of the Hebrews originally sprang. The accumulative force of evidence seemed to me so strong that I could not but characterise the conclusion arrived at as "a perfectly safe and assured one."

This conviction will, I think, become stronger still if the following points are allowed their due weight as additional items of evidence. The chief value of these fresh remarks is, indeed, that of illustration rather than of proof; but illustrations, if apt enough, can hardly be divested of a certain proper amount of evidential testimony.

(1) There is, first of all, the term **יהוה צבאות** which is translated by "the Lord of Hosts" both in the Authorised and the Revised English Versions. The true meaning of **צבאות** has, indeed, been perceived

\* This point has been alluded to in my earlier paper on the subject, but a full discussion of the term "Lord of Hosts" is here given for the first time.



by many critics. "The original meaning of Sabaoth," says Professor Cheyne, on page 12 of his Commentary of Isaiah (second edition) . . . "is probably the stars. So Kuenen, Tiele, Baudissin, and even Delitzsch." Lower down on the same page, the necessary supplementary remark is made that "in later times different writers may have used it in other senses, some thinking of the angels, others of the armies of Israel, others in all senses combined." But we are now able to attach a definite and archæologically attested meaning to the combination of צבאות, the hosts of stars, with the divine name יהוה. In an extant hymn\* to Nannar (the glorious), as the moon-god was by preference called at Ur of Chaldees, the god is addressed as "lord of the hosts of heaven," *i.e.*, as the deity "who was seen to gather around him the glorious hosts of stars on the weird vault of night."† This distinction, more than any other, has probably secured to the moon-god a much greater importance than could be claimed by the sun, who "had to cross the heavens unattended, and therefore unserved."† And it is this characteristic appellation of Nannar which is clearly reflected in the combination יהוה צבאות of the Old Testament. The God of Israel, as the supreme Ruler of the Universe, was "the Lord of the hosts of heaven," *i.e.*, of the myriads of shining stars, and, by inference, of the various powers which animated them. His rule extended through all the vast realms of aerial

\* Contained in Vol. IV. of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia."

† "Contemporary Review," October, 1898, p. 583.

domains, and wherever there was a shining supernal light, wherever there was a power, a god, a spirit, he—Yahweh—was the Lord and Commander thereof. The view of Ewald, according to which there is an ellipsis of אלהי, the complete appellation being \*יהוה אלהי צבאות, "Yahweh, the God of Hosts," answers best to the requirements of grammatical construction, and also falls in admirably with the definite sense now attached to the term. And even if it could be shown that in some parts of the Old Testament צבאות is used as an additional proper name (so Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 13), there seems to be now no room for doubt that the primary meaning of the combination was the one suggested by Yahweh's lordship over the stars of heaven.

(2) Another Biblical expression which can now be satisfactorily explained is the "exaltation of the horn,"† denoting elevation to power and dignity. When, for instance, Hannah in I. Sam. ii. 1, says: "Mine horn is exalted in Yahweh," or when, in Ps. cxxxii. 17, Yahweh himself says: "Then will I cause a horn to spring forth unto David," what is the exact meaning to be attached to these phrases? A reasonable explanation is found in the "mitre ornamented with horns" which is the emblem of the god Sin. The supreme Deity, who ruled the world from His abode in the lunar orb, was cosmically seen to

\* The complete term is, in fact, used several times in the Old Testament, as can be easily seen in the Concordances.

† Much curious information on the symbolical use of the term "horn" will be found in *e.g.*, "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible" (2nd edition), under "horn."

shoot forth in brightly shining horns during the first quarter of each month; and when the disk was completed, Sin was said to have put on his mitre (*agnu*), an expression which then includes the halos which form around the moon.\* What more natural, therefore, than the emblematic use of the "horn" to denote the power and dignity with which Yahweh was pleased to invest His faithful followers. In Hannah's case, we find that the horn is exalted "in Yahweh," in the God who Himself reveals His glory in the luminous horns of the heavenly body which forms His chief abode. To David the promise is made that, similarly to the horns of the growing disk of the God, a horn will spring forth to him. And when, in Jeremiah xlvi. 25, the defeat and utter abasement of Moab is spoken of, the horn of Moab is aptly said to be "cut off."

(3) A phrase that is somewhat similar in import to the one just considered is found in Exodus xxxiv. 29, 30, 35. After having been with Yahweh forty days and forty nights on Mount Sinai, it is said that, on his coming down from the Mount, the skin of Moses' face was found "to send forth horns" † (קַרְן עוֹר פָּנָיו). But the only reasonable meaning that can be attached to the incident is that on the face of Moses was

\* Maspero, "Dawn of Civilisation," p. 655, note 5. The term "horns" is also sometimes applied to the rays of the sun, but not in so distinct and decisive a sense as in the case of the moon. It is also probable that the sun borrowed this characteristic from the moon when the supremacy had passed over from the latter to the former.

† Rightly rendered by Aquila and Vulgate: *κερατώδης ἦν*, and "cornuta facies sua." Also on this point see, e.g., "Smith's Bible Dictionary," *loc. cit.*

impressed a reflection of the shining horns which distinguished the Deity with whom he had for so long been communing. In the Revised Version, and also in the text of the Authorised Version, the phrase is toned down into the statement that the skin of Moses' face "shone"; but the exact meaning of the Hebrew is conscientiously rendered in the margin of the Authorised Version. The word קָרַן in the sense of "to shine," cannot be shown to exist. It is merely a denominative of the word קֶרֶן, horn, and clearly denotes nothing else but the shooting forth of a horn or horns.\* It was, indeed, to be expected that Moses should, after a long stay on Sinai, come down with the impress of the God upon his face.

(4) I have not made anything like a full investigation yet into the allusions to primitive theological conception† embodied in the phraseology of different parts of the Old Testament, but it appears to me that a verse like Deut. xxxiii. 2 may fairly be claimed as an illustration of my present theory. It is there said:—

The Lord came from Sinai,  
And shone out from Seir unto them;  
He beamed forth from Mount Paran,  
And he came from the ten thousands of holy ones: ‡  
At his right hand was a fiery law § unto them.

The "shining out" (זָרַח) and "beaming forth"

\* Compare מִקְרִין מַפְרִים, "that hath horns and hoofs," Ps. lxi. 31.

† I would invite special attention to the phrase קַרְנִים מִדּוֹ לוֹ, "he had horns on his sides" (Habak. iii. 4). Also note "the horns of the altar," Ex. xxvii. 2, etc.

‡ Hebrew "holiness."

§ אֵשׁ דָּת is, however, a very difficult combination.

(הוֹפִיעַ) of Yahweh is significant as pointing to the luminous appearance of the heavenly body which, according to the theory advocated in the present paper, was the seat of Yahweh's might; and the "ten thousands of the holy ones" from the midst of whom He came remind one at once of the starry hosts\* over whom He reigns as Lord supreme. When, furthermore, in Judges v. 20, "the stars in their courses" are said to have fought against Sisera, we seem to have a reference to the same hosts of the firmament, who, at the bidding of their Lord, direct their attack on the enemies of His devoted ones. The following lines taken from Ps. xviii. (comp. II. Sam. xxii.) also suggest the presence of a great cosmic Deity, at whose angry movement through space all things above and below reel and quake in terror unsurpassable:—

Then the earth shook and trembled,  
 The foundations also of the mountains moved  
 And were shaken, because he was wroth.  
 There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,  
 And fire out of his mouth devoured :  
 Coals were kindled by it.  
 He bowed the heavens also and came down ;  
 And thick darkness was under his feet.  
 And he rode upon a Cherub and did fly :  
 Yea, he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.

At the brightness before him his thick clouds passed,  
 Hailstones and coals of fire.

The mighty divine personality invoked by the faithful one in his distress bows the heavens in order to come down to the assistance of His worshipper,

\* Including, of course, the powers which animated them.

and it is to be specially noticed that brightness and fire are some of the characteristic accompaniments of His appearing.

(5) The molten calf made by Aaron during the first delayed stay of Moses on Mount Sinai has also a bearing on the inquiry before us. That the worship of the calf was not identical with the introduction of a foreign cult, but was merely a gross and unauthorised form of the national religion of the Hebrews themselves, has been recognised by many scholars\*; but as a parallel to this particular representation of the Deity, only the bull Mnevis of Heliopolis, or Apis of Memphis, has been hitherto thought of. It is, however, hardly likely that an Egyptian form of deity would have been hailed by the Israelites as the God who had brought them out of the land of Egypt. It is, on the other hand, of the utmost importance to notice that Nannar, the god of Uru, is called "the mighty bull of Anu,"† in an ancient inscription found among the ruins of his own city.‡ The calf, therefore, which is described in Ps. cvi. 20, as the "similitude of an ox that eateth grass" can now be taken as one of the traditional popular representations of the supreme Deity itself. The horned moon was considered to be aptly symbolised by the strongest horned animal that could be

\* Aaron, in fact, said on the occasion, **חג ליהוה מחר**, "To-morrow is a feast to Yahweh" (Ex. xxxii. 5).

† Anu was the god of the firmament.

‡ See Maspero, "Dawn of Civilisation," p. 653, note 6. The same designation is found in forms of prayer; see Hommel, "Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens," p. 199.

thought of, namely, the bull. It was, however, the mission of Moses to wean his people from the grosser conceptions to which they had been accustomed, and to perpetuate among them a finer and more spiritual form of their ancient religion. Hence the consternation of Moses and the anger of Yahweh at the retrogressive step taken by the people during the absence of the prophet. The worship of the calf was an act of apostasy from the nobler and truer form of religion which Moses was labouring to establish, and it fully deserved the severe measures that were taken against it.

The golden calves also which Jeroboam made, for fear lest the people should return to the allegiance of the house of David by continually going up "to sacrifice in the house of Yahweh at Jerusalem" \* were nothing but a return to the same grosser form of the Yahweh cult. There was evidently a certain kind of persistence in the reaction which had in the early days manifested itself at the foot of Sinai itself. "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," † was a proclamation which in both cases was meant to stamp the worship of the calf as the orthodox and traditional form of Israel's religion, and Jeroboam's politic design would seem to show that he could count on the popularity of the step. The Yahweh of Mosaism was deeply ethical, strict, and severe. The god represented by a calf was, on the other hand, much more easy-going and much less exacting. He was, in fact, very much like the gods of the nations around. The people not unnaturally

\* I. Kings xii. 27.

† I. Kings xii. 28; compare Ex. xxxii. 4, 8.

liked it so. It was this preference which led to the revolt at Sinai, and it was in the same human tendency that the politic Jeroboam saw his own opportunity.

(6) If the argument so far presented be correct, we also have a satisfactory explanation of the name **שָׁלִם**, as the city of Jerusalem (Uru-Salim in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets) is called in Gen. xiv. 18, and elsewhere. The word cannot mean "peace," for the Hebrew word for peace is **שָׁלוֹם** (Shalom), and the Aramaic form is **שְׁלָם** (Shēlam). The word **שָׁלִם** can only mean "complete." The ground plan of Haran, the city sacred to Sin, described, as we are told, "a crescent-shaped curve in honour of its patron."\* We are thus led to think that the term **שָׁלִם** (Shalem) was meant to denote the moon-disk at its full, and that the city was, in honour of the God, so built as roughly to represent a circle. The name **יהוה שָׁלוֹם** (Yahweh Shalom) given by Gideon to the altar built by him (Judges vi. 24), will in that case represent a later interpretation and altered pronunciation of the original term **יהוה שָׁלִם**. The inscriptions acquaint us, however, with Ninip† as the name of the God of Jerusalem, and it is true that Ninip is described as a sun-god. We are thus led into a difficulty which future research may possibly help to clear up.

\* Maspero, "Struggle of the Nations," p. 26.

† In the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. xx., pp. 261-2, Prof. Sayce says that Ber, or even Bar, appears to have been the name of the God. If that be so, we at last have the correct meaning of Ps. ii. 12 :—"Kiss (*i.e.*, pay homage to) Bar (**בַּר**) lest he be angry. . . . blessed are all they that put their trust in him." **יהוה בַּר** would in that case be **יהוה בַּר**.



## II.

We must now turn our attention to a consideration of the name and attributes of the god Ashshur. This god was usually represented under the form of an armed man placed within a shining disk, from which there beamed forth feather-like rays to the right, the left, and the lower half of his body. On his head he wore a horned tiara. His right hand was lifted up in what may be taken as a gesture of exhortation, and in his left hand he held a mighty bow.\* The orb of light unmistakably points to a heavenly body in which the god had his abode, and from the form and size of the disk one has a right to conclude that either the sun or the moon must be meant. The horned tiara, however, clearly indicates the moon.† We thus find that the representation of the god would itself suggest his identity with the greatest god of antiquity, namely, the moon-god. This conclusion is confirmed by other considerations.‡ It is well known that the name Ashshur applies not only to the god, but also to the capital and country of Assyria. Schrader, § with very good reason, holds that it was the god who gave the name to the city and land around it. The objection to this view raised by, *e.g.*, Friedrich Delitzsch || is

\* See Maspero, "Struggle of the Nations," p. 567, and compare Oxford Bible Illustrations, Pl. lxxxiii.

† See, however, the first note on p. 9.

‡ It should also be noticed that Ishtar of Arbel was the daughter of Ashshur and sister of Merodach, just as Ishtar of Nineveh was daughter of Sin and sister of Shamash.

§ "Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament," 2nd edition, pp. 35-37.

|| "Wo lag das Paradies," pp. 252-254.

that Aushâr or "water-bank," which was the ancient form of the name, cannot be properly understood as primarily the name of a god. But if the god of Eridu could be called Ea, or "house of waters," it is difficult to see why "water-bank" should be considered unsuitable as the name of a god of similar properties. The influence of the moon-god on the tides would be as clearly indicated by the one term as by the other. A later Assyrian explanation of the name Ashshur, usually understood to be a mere play on words, is that it denotes "the good god" ("ilu tabu," taking אִשְׁרַי straight, upright, to lie at the basis of "Ashshur"), but also this notion agrees with the identical designation of the god of Eridu, as the "good god" (Dugga). Even the proposed identification \* of Ashshur with the god Anshâr (lord of hosts) of the cuneiform creation epos would not necessarily remove us from his similarity to Ea-Sin, for we have seen that the god is, under the name of Nannar, addressed as "lord of the hosts of heaven." The different explanations of the name Ashshur seem, in fact, to point to the various qualities which the god had carried with him from his original home at the northern coast of the Persian Gulf. Each of these interpretations embodies a part of the truth. The "good god," who in the city of Eridu was called "house of waters," gradually spread his influence northwards. At Uru, lying only a short distance off, he became known as Nannar (the glorious). Far away, on a northern tributary of the Euphrates, his

\* Jenson was the first to put forward this view; for references see Maspero, "Struggle of the Nations," p. 602, note 3.

name was Sin (the lord of the thirty days of the month), and high up on the Tigris he was called Aushâr (water-bank), his other original qualities being reflected in the names of the "good god," and "the lord of hosts." Under how many other names and forms the god was to be found in other ancient places \* it is as yet impossible to say, but the present writer is under the impression that much more light is likely to be thrown on this subject in the not very distant future.

In entire accord with this identification of the god Ashshur is the interesting analogy which Professor Sayce† has shown to exist between Yahweh, the God of Israel, and the god Ashshur. After having drawn attention to several points of likeness in the conception which, on the one hand, the Israelites had of Yahweh, and on the other, the Assyrians of Ashshur, and having more especially pointed out that, like Yahweh, Ashshur was the god of a nation rather than of a city, Professor Sayce thus sums up his remarks:—"We can, in fact, trace in him all the lineaments upon which, under other conditions, there might have been built up as pure a faith as that of the God of Israel." A highly interesting confirmation of the view now advocated is found in the famous message which Sennacherib, King of Assyria, sent Rabshakeh to deliver to Hezekiah, King of Israel. "Have I now come up without Yahweh against this place to destroy it? Yahweh said to me, Go up

\* Apart, of course, from the local moon-gods of Babylonian towns generally; see "Contemporary Review," No. 394, p. 583.

† "Hibbert Lectures," p. 122, *sqq.*

against this land and destroy it" (II. Kings xviii. 25; Isaiah xxxvi. 10). The idea that Sennacherib, and initiated Assyrians generally, might have identified the god Ashshur with Yahweh, has indeed occurred to former writers on the subject; but my theory of Ashshur's original identity with Ea-Sin, and consequently also with Yahweh, must be allowed to put the seal on this interpretation of the passage. From the initiated Assyrian's point of view, an order of Ashshur to destroy the land and city of the Israelites would be literally tantamount to an order given by Yahweh himself, for Yahweh was to him but another name of Ashshur.

The present paper has, I trust, shown that the theory advocated by me in the "Contemporary Review" for October last finds a considerable amount of additional support in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. The identification of the god Ashshur with Ea-Sin constitutes an important extension of my original thesis, and I believe that both archæology and the science of Biblical criticism are destined to carry the theory further still. One of the results gained will, no doubt, consist in a strong confirmation of the view that the various religions of the Semitic races originally sprang from a more or less well-defined monotheistic faith, *i.e.*, the belief in the god Ea, who was worshipped at Eridu, the cradle of civilisation, as the "good god," the Lord of all things, and the creator and benefactor of man.

## APPENDIX.

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The following two Talmudical passages may be noted in connection with the subject of this pamphlet:—

I.—(Tractate Sanhedrin, fol. 42a):—"Rabbi Aha, the son of Hanina, said in the name of Rabbi Asi, who himself received it from Rabbi Yohanan, that he who pronounces the benediction on the new moon at the proper time is like one who welcomes the very presence of the Divine Glory. For here (Ex. xii. 2) it is written: *this month*, and there (Ex. xv. 2) we read: *this is my God, and I will praise Him* [the word *this* which occurs in both passages showing that the terms *month* and *God* stand in correlation to one another]. At the school of Rabbi Yishmael the following has been said: If Israel had only been favoured to welcome the face of their Father which is in heaven once in the month, it would have been sufficient for them."

The saying of the school of Rabbi Yishmael forms part of the Hebrew Service for the "Benediction of the Moon." Does it not seem as if we are here face to face with a tradition which proceeds directly from Ur and Haran, the two great seats of the ancient moon-cult? The wonderful part of it is, that the tradition should have been preserved among a people whose monotheism is so pure and absolute, and whose spiritual view of the Deity has for many centuries been unimpeachable.

II.—(Tractate Hullin, fol. 60b):—"Rabbi Shimeon, the son of Pasi, asked: It is written (Gen. i. 16), *And God made two great lights*, and immediately after we read, *The greater light* and *the lesser light*. [How are these two expressions to be reconciled? The answer is this]: The moon said before the Holy One, Blessed be He, O Lord of the Universe, how is it possible for two Kings to use the self-same crown? [*i.e.* for the sun and moon to shine with the same brightness]. He said to her, Go and diminish thyself. The moon replied, O Lord of the Universe, should I diminish myself because I have made a fitting remark? He said, Go and rule both over the day and the night. She answered, What is the advantage of it, for of what use is a light in the day-time. . . . When he saw that she was not satisfied, He said, Make an atonement for me, because I have diminished the moon."

In this piece of Talmudic folk-lore we may recognise a reminiscence of the struggle for supremacy between the deities of the sun and the moon in the early ages of the world. We know that finally Merodach, the sun-god, occupied the chief throne in the Babylonian Empire. In Egypt also Heliopolis, the city of the sun, took precedence of Hermopolis, the seat of the moon-god Thot. In how far deities who were originally representatives of the moon were later on changed into solar gods\* it is at present impossible to say, for this question belongs to a chapter of mythology which has not yet been written.

\* May this not have been the case with Ninip (or Bar?) the god of Uru-Salim? (see p. 14).

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